T 825
.L1 K3

T 825
.L1 K3
Copy 1

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JANUARY 10, 1871.

U. S. A.

WASHINGTON:
F. & J. RIVES & GEO. A. BAILEY,
REPORTERS AND PRINTERS OF THE DEBATES OF CONGRESS.
1871.

T
1825
L1K3

NATIONAL EXPOSITION.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 1478) to provide for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American independence by holding an international exhibition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine, in the city of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania, in the year 1876—

Mr. KELLEY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This bill has been treated by its opponents as though its object were a purely local one. It is not so. The city of Philadelphia, the State of Pennsylvania, and the Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania originated the movement for the centennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence, and are willing to take the responsibility of its preparation and management under the auspices of the Government of the United States. And to that end the bill does little more than ordain that such a celebration shall be had at Philadelphia, and provide for the appointment by the President of one commissioner from each State and Territory upon the nomination of the Governor thereof.

The proposed exhibition is to celebrate events that are not merely of national but of world-wide interest. It is to commemorate not a day, but an epoch in universal history; not an event, but a series of events that occurred in rapid succession and gave birth to republican liberty, and organized a nation which stands to-day, when measured by the number of its population, the extent and geographical position of its territory, the intelligence and enterprise of its people, and the variety and volume of its resources and productions first and proudest, though but an infant among the nations of the world. London and Paris were venerable cities when the American continent was discovered, and this bill proposes to invite the people of London, Paris, and the world at large to behold the results of one century of republican liberty in a nation, whose people are the offspring of those of every land and clime, and to challenge them to present the best results of their genius, experience, and labor in comparison with those of this young and heterogeneous but free people.

The proposed celebration, sir, will prove to be of national importance by its relation to the trade of the country. I hold in my hand one of the most instructive politico-economic works of the last year, "Home Politics; or, the Growth of Trade considered in its Relation to Labor, Pauperism, and Emigration, by Daniel Grant," published in London. I request the attention of the House to a passage from that work with respect to the influence of the first and second expositions on the trade of England. It is as follows:

"In an early part of this chapter it was pointed out that the personal knowledge of buyer and seller form an important link in the growth of trade, and in one sense the first exhibition aided this. Men who for years had known each other by name came to know each other as a matter of fact, and thus built up relations that produced a mutual good. The mere prestige of the 'world's bazaar' brought men from every quarter of the habitable world, and they carried away with them to their distant homes the memory of English productions, that bore fruit then and has borne fruit since. At the time, among the whole of our manufacturers, it was recognized as an unchallengable fact that the exhibition had stimulated trade, that orders were plentiful, and that its success was great.

"The statistics do more than bear this point out; the bound in our exports is both clear and decisive. It will be necessary to notice here that the direct results of the exhibition would not be manifest until the year after it closed, and would most probably extend twelve months beyond. The exhibition did not close until the end of the year; the orders given during the time would be delivered partly in the year 1851, and partly in 1852, and the return orders some months later, so that the effects would appear in the following years. The statistics here given show very markedly the growth of our exports at the particular epochs.

"Our exports in 1851 were £74,448,722, in 1852, £78,076,854, and in 1853, £98,933,780; showing an advance in the two years of £24,485,050.

The same results are apparent in the two years after our second exhibition:

"Our exports in 1862 were £123,992,264, in 1863, £146,602,342, and in 1864, £160,444,053; showing an advance in the two years of £36,456,789."

No one can consider these figures and the reflections of Mr. Grant without conceding that such an exhibition, held in the neighborhood or within the limits of one of our great cities, would largely expand the trade of the entire country, and would attract an enormous flow of immigration, especially of skilled mechanics, artists, and men of enterprise with capital too limited to be adequate to produce

a competence in Europe, but which might enable them to amass fortunes in this country of cheap land and undeveloped resources.

The question, therefore, is one of national importance, and should not be treated as a local one, because it is proposed that the commemorative exhibition shall be held in the city in which the events which it is to commemorate occurred. I regret exceedingly that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CLEVELAND] is not in his seat. He proposed to hold such a celebration in New York, and, in support of his strange proposition, invited the attention of the House to the fact that for forty years New York has had an association for the promotion of the mechanic arts, known as the American Institute. Sir, forty-five years ago, I was a copy-reader in a printing office, and I remember well that among the copy which most puzzled me was that of Dr. Jones, who was then at the head of the Patent Office and editor of the journal of the Franklin Institute, an institution which had then been publishing its proceedings for several years. This was five years before the organization of the American Institute. The Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania hailed the organization and has rejoiced in the prosperity of the American Institute, and recognizes it as its most successful offspring and as one of its most influential coworkers in developing our manufacturing and mining resources and promoting the general interests of our country.

The gentleman from New York, [Mr. BROOKS,] in opposing this bill, spoke of the inconsequential character of the preamble and resolutions. Regarding the proposed exposition as a commemoration only of the Declaration of Independence, he said that document had nothing to do with the progress of manufactures and the arts. In this opinion he dissents from that of Thomas Jefferson, as he will discover by turning to volume one of Jefferson's Works, page 129. He will there find that Mr. Jefferson assigns the attempt by England to suppress manufactures and prevent their establishment was a potent cause of the revolt of the Colonies. He says:

That to heighten still the idea of parliamentary justice, and to show with what moderation they are like to exercise power where themselves are to feel no part of its weight, we take leave to mention to his Majesty certain other acts of the British Parliament by which they were prohibited from manufacturing for our own use the articles we raise on our own lands with our own labor. By an act passed in the fifth year of the reign of his late Majesty, king George II, an American subject is forbidden to make a hat for himself of the fur which he has taken perhaps on his own soil; an instance of despotism to which no parallel can be produced in the most arbitrary ages of British history. By one other act, passed in the twenty-third year of the same reign, the iron which we make we are forbidden to manufacture; and heavy as that article is, and necessary in every branch of husbandry, besides commission and insurance, we are to pay freight for it to Great Britain, and freight for it back again, for the purpose of supporting, not men, but machines, in the island of Great Britain."

That gentlemen may perceive how well founded these complaints of the colonists were, let me quote a portion of the two laws to which Mr. Jefferson refers. I might cite many kindred laws, but parts of these will suffice. Let me read the fourth section of chapter twenty-two of the fifth year (1732) of George II. It is as follows:

"Whereas the art and mystery of making hats in Great Britain hath arrived to great perfection, and considerable quantities of hats manufactured in this kingdom have heretofore been exported to his Majesty's plantations or Colonies in America, who have been wholly supplied with hats from Great Britain; and whereas great quantities of hats have of late years been made, and the said manufacture is daily increasing in the British plantations in America, and is from thence exported to foreign markets, which were heretofore supplied from Great Britain, and the hat-makers in the said plantations take many apprentices for small terms, to the discouragement of the said trade, and debasing the said manufacture; wherefore, for preventing the said ill practices for the future, and for promoting and encouraging the trade of making hats in Great Britain,

Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the 29th day of September, A. D. 1732, no hats or felts whatsoever, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be shipped, laden, or put on board any ship or vessel in any place or ports within any of the British plantations, upon any pretense whatsoever, by any person or persons whatsoever; and also, that no hats or felts, either dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be laden upon any horse, cart, or other carriage, to the intent or purpose to be exported, transported, shipped off, carried, or conveyed out of any of the said British plantations to any other of the British plantations, or to any other place whatsoever, by any person or persons whatsoever."

The ninth and tenth sections of the other act referred to, chapter twenty-eight of the twenty-third year (1750) of George II, are as follows:

"IX. That from and after the 24th day of June, 1750, no mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel, shall be erected, or after such erection, continued in any of his Majesty's colonies in America; and if any person or persons shall erect, or cause to be erected, or after such erection continue, or cause to be continued, in any of the said Colonies, any such mill, engine, forge, or furnace, every person or persons so offending shall, for every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace, forfeit the sum of £200 of lawful money of Great Britain.

"X. *And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace so erected or continued, contrary to the directions of this act, shall be deemed a common nuisance; and that every governor, lieutenant governor, or commander-in-chief of his Majesty's colonies in America, where any such mill, engine, forge, or furnace shall be erected or continued, shall, upon information to him made and given, upon the oath of

any two or more credible witnesses, that any such mill, engine, forge, or furnace hath been so erected or continued, (which oath such governor, lieutenant governor, or commander-in-chief is hereby authorized and required to administer,) order and cause every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace to be abated within the space of thirty days next after such information given and made as aforesaid; and if any governor, lieutenant governor, or commander-in-chief shall neglect or refuse to do so within the time herein before limited for that purpose, every such governor, lieutenant governor, or commander-in-chief so offending shall, for every such offense, forfeit the sum of £500 of lawful money of Great Britain, and shall from theneeforth be disabled to hold or enjoy any office of trust or profit under his Majesty, his heirs or successors."

Thus, sir, the history of the Colonies, the laws of England, and the express assertion of the author of the Declaration of Independence assure us that no character of celebration of the events we propose to commemorate could be more appropriate than one which would exhibit to the world the results of the mining, manufacturing, and artistic skill of a people who, one hundred years ago, were not permitted to manufacture a felt hat or a plow or nail from the productions of their own soil. Certainly no celebration could be more apposite or more fitting.

Then comes the question, "Where should it be held?" Why, sir, it should, in the judgment of the country, be held where the Continental Congress assembled, deliberated, and acted, and where Carpenters' Hall still stands, as it did when the first prayer for Congress was uttered. It should be in the vicinity of Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was signed and proclaimed to the people, and where stands the old bell, whose peals summoned them, now shattered, but still in form, and bearing the prophetic inscription, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," cast upon it about a century before the great event it announced. It should be near to the hall in which the Constitution was framed and adopted, and to that in which the first Congress of the United States assembled; and these are all in Philadelphia. Were the celebration of the centennial anniversary of this great epoch, embracing this series of grand historical events, to be held in any other city it would be out of place, and the people who might attend it would wander from its precincts to Philadelphia, in search of the scenes and halls amid which and in which the men whose deeds they would commemorate had consummated their great designs.

Can Philadelphia accommodate it? Sir, many of the members of this House, including members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Manufactures, have visited our city with reference to this question. They spent delightful hours in our park, unequaled in the world, either in extent or beauty, through which flow the beautiful Schuylkill and the romantic Wissahickon, and containing more than twenty-six hundred acres of undulating land, embracing both banks of the beautiful streams I have named. When Miss Frances Anne Kemble first visited us she was fresh from Italy and Switzerland, among whose mountains and lakes she had passed years; yet familiar as she was with the wondrous beauty of their scenery she found its equal within the limits of Philadelphia's park. Listen to what she said on the subject:

To the Wissahickon.

My feet shall tread no more thy mossy side,
When once they turn away, thou pleasant water,
Nor ever more, reflected in thy tide,
Will shine the eyes of the white island's daughter,
But often in my dreams, when I am gone
Beyond the sea that parts thy home and mine,
Upon thy banks the evening sun will shine,
And I shall hear thy low, still flowing on.
And when the burden of existence lies
Upon my soul darkly and heavily,
I'll clasp my hands over my weary eyes,
Thou pleasant water, and thy clear waves see.
Bright be thy course, forever and forever—
Child of pure mountain springs and mountain snow;
And as thou wanderest on to meet the river,
Oh, still in light and music may'st thou flow!
I never shall come back to thee again,
When once my sail is shadowed on the main;
Nor ever shall I hear thy laughing voice,
As on their rippling way thy waves rejoice;
Nor ever see the dark green cedar throw
Its gloomy shade o'er the clear depths below.
Never, from stony rifts of granite gray,
Sparkling like diamond rocks in the sun's ray,
Shall I look down on thee, thou pleasant stream,
Beneath whose crystal folds the gold sands gleam.
Wherefore, farewell! but whensoe'er again
The wintry spell melts from the earth and air;
And the young spring comes dancing through thy glen,
With fragrant, flowery breath, and sunny hair;
When through the snow the scarlet berries gleam,
Like jewels strewn upon thy banks, fair stream,
My spirit shall through many a summer's day
Return among thy peaceful woods to stray.

Here, sir, amidst these scenes of beauty, and in the midst of a collection of American trees and foliage such as is nowhere else to be found, we ask this exposition to be held. Sir, we make this request not with reference to the beauty of the site alone, but to its utility and fitness also.

Through the Philadelphia park passes the junction railway, by which goods shipped for exhibition from any part of the continent of America, which is connected with a through line of railway, may be delivered at the ground proposed to be set apart for the exhibition without transfer or breaking bulk.

Again, the great thing that the people of

Europe would learn by coming to see us, would be the effect of free institutions upon the masses of the people, and that which they would most admire, and which they could see nowhere else, would be the homes of our working people. I repeat, sir, that by nothing that they would see in this country would the workingmen or the capitalists of Europe be more instructed than in looking at the homes of the workmen of Philadelphia. No tenement houses there. Each laborer who has a family dwells under a separate roof, which is most frequently his own; in a house lighted by gas, supplied with an abundance of pure hydrant water. In every house there is a bath-room, into which there runs streams, warm and cold, of the pure water provided by the public. This is a startling contrast to the homes of the workingmen of England, France, Belgium, or Prussia, or any other land. To thus bring the people of Europe to a knowledge of how laborers live in our free Republic would give an upward impulse to the temporal condition of humanity everywhere.

Sir, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BROOKS] suggested that he was not hostile to Philadelphia, inasmuch as he regarded her as one of the principal suburbs of New York. I do not wonder at that, for in truth the two cities are each the other's principal suburb. They are so near each other, their population is so nearly equal, and each is so thoroughly the complement of the other, that each may, without affectation, so regard the other. They are but little more than two hours apart, and the road that connects them is the one to which I have alluded that runs through the park.

London imports through Liverpool, Paris through Havre, and our merchants receive most of their importations through New York for precisely the same reasons that control those of London and Paris. We do it for greater convenience, and our imports thus swell the volume of New York's apparent greatness. In her we find one of our principal customers, and largely our factor. She distributes many of our products, indeed I may say most of that part of our products not consumed by our own prosperous and happy people.

We have no rivalry with New York. Her field of operations is with foreign countries; ours is at home. We convert the raw material of our own and other lands into utilities and matters of taste and *vertu*. We are a producing people; they are a trading people. Our roots are fixed in the soil of our country; they move with the changes of commerce. And New York, but for the possibility of increasing her manufactures, may one day follow the great cities that have, from time to time, been reared on the commercial routes of the past, and are now known only to history. A city depending exclusively upon commerce may be regarded as possibly transitory, so long as the routes of commerce are liable to change.

Sir, in comparing the two cities (I have no idea of contrasting them, for, as an American, I rejoice in the growth and progress of each) let me tell you something of the people of Philadelphia and their products. The census just taken is incomplete. General Walker, the Superintendent of the Census Bureau, assured me to-day that the statement which I hold in my hand is from twenty to twenty-five per cent. too low in its aggregate of her manufacturing products. The total of imports into the country during the last fiscal year, not into New York, but into the country; not on the Atlantic coast, but on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, amounted to a little more than four hundred and sixty-two million dollars. That was the value of our entire import of manufactured articles and of raw material. The entire imports were, I say, but $462,377,587, while the products of industry, as for as ascertained, in Philadelphia alone were $251,663,921. Add to this, as I am authorized by the Superintendent of the Census to add, twenty per cent., and it will be found that her productions alone were far greater than the manufactured imports of the country, and equal to about two thirds of the entire imports of raw materials and manufactured articles.

Philadelphia has, as far as ascertained, (and the numbers will be greatly increased,) 9,090 establishments, employing a capital of $205,564,238; employing in horse-power, of steam, 31,582, and of water, 2,226; employing 88,631 males above sixteen years of age, 23,545 females above that age, 7,356 children and youth; paying wages annually to the amount of $52,236,026; using materials to the value of $132,618,873; and yielding manufactured products, as I have already said, to the value of $251,663,921. And the Superintendent of the Census, from information already in his possession, justifies me in swelling this amount to $300,000,000. But for the further information of the House I will at this point incorporate in my remarks the table in detail:

General abstract—Schedule four—Recapitulation—City of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Titles, (not revised.*)	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Horse-power.		Hands employed.			Wages.	Materials.	Products.
			Steam.	Water.	Males above 16.	Females above 16.	Children and youth.			
Boots and shoes	674	$2,274,636	42	-	4,620	1,380	215	$2,478,082	$3,279,548	$7,724,809
Boot and shoe fitters	17	57,150	-	-	88	114	6	67,743	61,411	150,657
Brick-makers	80	1,814,500	395	-	2,332	-	437	1,151,647	356,984	2,703,148
Breweries	53	3,221,450	445	-	485	4	7	327,440	1,706,106	4,182,050
Bakeries	391	768,075	119	-	1,091	27	86	298,981	1,714,462	3,004,189
Bread, cake, ice-cream, &c	10	44,700	-	-	45	16	1	25,040	61,016	116,340
Blacksmiths	139	200,685	22	-	505	-	8	217,664	154,890	587,776
Brass founderies	23	383,750	96	-	275	-	12	134,438	170,548	532,067
Cigars	345	986,040	34	-	1,213	160	113	524,168	791,851	2,014,058
Carriages	118	1,707,497	181	-	1,502	3	15	865,880	660,264	2,103,884
Carriages, (children's)	4	59,100	20	-	45	-	14	32,452	28,070	83,922
Carpets	205	2,363,650	500	-	3,464	872	379	1,700,436	4,798,253	7,397,636
Confectionery	81	266,750	20	-	271	53	28	99,438	282,258	601,452
Cabinet-makers	133	1,767,955	402	-	1,682	18	53	1,006,190	1,097,080	3,004,873
Coopers	59	409,487	125	-	526	-	5	275,278	338,982	896,284
Clothing	310	4,369,114	-	-	4,038	4,464	73	2,032,639	6,546,731	10,707,008
Carpenters and builders	87	1,110,500	-	-	1,337	15	18	753,863	1,647,475	4,180,643
Carpenters	143	383,050	1	-	658	-	10	438,664	917,141	1,691,401
Cotton-mills	21	2,682,000	1,015	690	1,034	1,445	469	898,662	2,122,354	3,476,454
Drugs and chemicals	24	2,579,500	501	-	589	114	34	384,008	2,562,190	3,877,180
Founderies, (iron)	71	4,240,420	675	-	2,480	-	115	1,414,227	2,213,004	5,295,072
Grist-mills	21	597,500	1,017	131	157	-	1	107,060	3,827,085	4,835,593
Glass-works	9	1,226,016	170	-	727	28	560	552,610	482,792	1,560,643
Hosiery	50	1,627,700	469	-	797	1,664	557	834,870	1,921,546	3,265,807
Jewelers	84	811,800	39	-	630	74	42	389,980	744,643	1,515,476
Machinists	90	5,107,245	1,541	-	3,194	5	31	1,675,711	1,618,060	4,605,312
Machinery and tubing	1	5,000,000	800	-	1,300	-	-	750,000	2,528,000	5,000,000
Plumbers and gas-fitters	97	293,400	35	-	478	-	21	211,426	421,188	876,434
Printers	123	4,974,200	762	-	2,119	239	190	1,820,285	2,559,485	6,301,397
Paper-mills	5	2,560,000	435	767	691	141	3	352,200	1,524,379	2,444,000
Painters	107	228,625	-	-	547	9	9	286,322	348,824	893,161
Pianos	8	493,000	121	-	278	2	3	173,250	111,200	431,800
Paints, lead and linseed oil	13	1,466,750	467	-	326	-	-	181,622	1,316,374	3,216,410
Patent medicines	27	1,405,774	43	-	158	105	8	126,045	2,681,502	5,591,832
Planing-mills	23	907,800	700	8	387	-	15	221,369	1,001,994	1,833,316
Sashes, doors, and blinds	41	829,735	820	-	537	1	17	395,592	709,886	1,451,804
Sewing-machines	5	700,000	59	-	312	2	3	195,440	182,380	671,000
Soap and candles	33	787,600	499	-	329	31	32	176,129	827,031	1,625,981
Sugar refiners	11	3,494,000	1,796	-	942	-	1	373,308	18,206,062	19,581,374
Tinsmiths	130	598,750	-	-	545	53	51	237,671	429,288	930,755
Woolen-mills	54	7,149,000	2,558	155	1,903	3,183	724	1,793,163	6,728,516	11,204,802
Yarns	44	2,255,000	1,237	225	779	581	375	536,084	3,226,851	4,952,994
	3,979	74,203,904	18,161	1,975	45,317	14,803	4,741	26,617,077	82,910,704	147,120,704
All others	2,111	131,360,334	13,421	250	43,314	8,742	2,615	25,618,949	49,708,169	104,543,217
Total	6,090	$205,564,238	31,582	2,226	88,631	23,545	7,356	$52,236,026	$132,618,873	$251,663,921

An abstract from the manufacturing returns of Philadelphia, as received from the assistant marshals—correspondence not completed—respectfully furnished for the information of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, United States House of Representatives.

FRANCIS A. WALKER, *Superintendent Census.*

*I have not adopted a classification.—F. A. W.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 019 930 485 9

Here, then, among these appliances for the conversion of raw materials into the comforts and luxuries of life; here among these busy mechanicians; here, in the home of Franklin, whose old printing press will furnish a striking contrast when put beside the "Hoe's last fast" or the last patent press that will be operating in those days; here, where Jefferson and his compatriots consulted upon the problem of independence, where Washington presided over the Convention which framed the Constitution, where, under that Constitution, he dwelt as Chief Magistrate of the country, surrounded by the great men of that day from all the then States; here, where, in a park embracing more than twenty-six hundred acres of land, the dimensions of the exhibition may spread to a hundred or five hundred acres, and from every point of which the eye shall be filled with natural beauty; here, at a spot accessible from every part of the country, blessed with a railroad, should this commemoration be held.

I am asked [illegible] The amendment submitted by my colleague [Mr. MORRELL] proposes to limit the amount that may be expended by the Government to $50,000 a year until 1876, when the sum may be increased to $250,000, making a total expenditure of $500,000. Sir, I have no idea that under the provisions of this bill the first year's expenses of the commissioners will be anything like that. But, assuming that they will, we appropriated the same sum to send a few articles to the Paris Exposition. Here we invite the people of every State and Territory to present in brilliant array among and in comparison with the best productions of other countries their best productions of field, mine, workshop, or artist's studio. And the appropriation is asked for the benefit of the people of the more remote and poorer States, to whose borders many an immigrant would be attracted by a generous exhibition of the many and various elements of wealth, in which every part of the country abounds in such marvelous profusion.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 019 930 485 9

Hollinger Corp.
pH 8.5